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LETTER DATED 7 JANUARY 1963 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE  
OF CUBA ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

On the instructions of my Government I have the honour to send you, with the request that they be forwarded to the President of the Security Council, copies of the letter which Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, sent to you on 26 October 1962<sup>1/</sup> and of the statement issued on 25 November 1962 by the National Directorate of the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations and the Council of Ministers,<sup>2/</sup> so that they may be included in the Security Council's documentation on the Caribbean crisis.

At the same time I should be grateful if you would request the President of the Security Council to give instructions for these documents to be circulated to Member States and if you would also arrange for the text of this letter to be circulated to all States Members of the United Nations.

As you know, the negotiations initiated with your generous assistance have not led to an effective agreement capable of guaranteeing permanent peace in the Caribbean and eliminating the existing tensions.

The Revolutionary Government of Cuba considers that the basic reason why these negotiations have not led to agreements acceptable to Cuba is that the Government of the United States, far from having renounced its aggressive and interventionist policy towards the Republic of Cuba, has maintained the position based on force which it took up in flagrant violation of the rules of international law.

The Cuban Government has stated - and it wishes to reiterate this condition on this occasion - that it cannot regard any agreement as effective unless it takes into consideration the five points or measures put forward as minimum guarantees

<sup>1/</sup> See annex I.

<sup>2/</sup> See document S/5210.

for peace in the Caribbean by our Prime Minister, Fidel Castro, in his statement of 28 October 1962, which is attached.

These Cuban requests are based on elementary principles of international law. They are not irrational demands, and Cuba considers that no one in the United Nations could validly object to them without disregarding the very foundations of the world Organization. The Cuban Government therefore considers that the United States Government's mere promise not to invade Cuba, which, moreover, has never been given formal shape, would not be any safeguard for our country and would not guarantee peace in the Caribbean.

We wish to draw attention to the fact that the United States Government, apart from the acts of aggression it has committed against Cuba and its preparations to carry out an armed invasion of our country, which brought the world to the brink of war, an outcome avoided by means of agreements which presupposed a commitment by the United States to abandon its aggressive and criminal policy towards Cuba, refuses even to give an assurance that it will not again violate the United Nations Charter by invading the Republic of Cuba, on the pretext that our country has not agreed to international inspection, as has been publicly stated repeatedly throughout this whole affair.

The Cuban Government considers that it is a sovereign right of the nation concerned to agree or not to agree to inspection of its territory and that it is an absurd piece of insolence to offer an undertaking not to invade, the equivalent of an undertaking not to commit an international crime, upon the condition that the country liable to invasion agrees to inspection of its territory.

The Government of Cuba considers, on the other hand, that the Soviet Government has fulfilled the conditions concerning verification proposed by Chairman Nikita Khrushchev in his letter of 28 October 1962 by allowing the withdrawal of intermediate range ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads to be verified on the high seas and by agreeing to similar methods of verification with regard to IL-28 bombers. Thus the United States Government's claim has no foundation or practical purpose and is merely an excuse for it not to carry out its part of the agreement and to persist in its policy of aggression against Cuba.

The Government of Cuba, moreover, categorically rejects the statement by the United States Government in which it reserves the right to use other means of inspection and verification on its own account. For a Power to officially announce its decision to inspect the territory of another Member State is truly alarming and amounts to a challenge to the United Nations. It implies an intolerable violation of national sovereignty, which Cuba denounces.

The Revolutionary Government of Cuba has already said that it would be ready to agree to the establishment of a system of multiple verification in the countries of the Caribbean region, including the corresponding parts of the United States, under which the extent of countries' compliance with their undertakings could be verified, provided that the United States, for its part, would agree to the adoption of the five measures or points requested by the Cuban Government.

The Cuban Government regrets the fact that the negotiations carried out with the agreement of the Security Council, which you yourself nobly and impartially set in motion, have not led to a satisfactory conclusion capable of guaranteeing peace in this hemisphere and thus throughout the world.

The recent history of this crisis, we repeat, gives palpable proof that the responsibility for this failure and for the maintenance of the tensions which dramatically aroused the fears of all mankind not long ago lies exclusively with the United States Government.

The Revolutionary Government of Cuba wishes to state once more on this occasion that there is no better procedure for solving crises such as this one than peaceful negotiations and discussion between the Governments concerned regarding the sovereign rights of each nation and respect for the rules of international law which govern the coexistence of nations. This is not the criterion which has determined the behaviour of the United States Government, and its stubborn resistance to any durable, satisfactory and fitting settlement is the reason why we are today unable to hail a real solution of the crisis.

Cuba reaffirms its peaceful policy and its desire for peaceful solutions, but wishes to state once more, in the words of the attached statement by the National Directorate of the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations and the Council of Ministers, that "to their positions of strength we shall oppose our firmness; to the intent to humiliate us, our dignity; to aggression, the resolve to fight to the last man".

The Cuban people, as our Prime Minister said during the recent ceremonies commemorating the fourth anniversary of the revolution, "reserve in full the right when confronted by their imperialist enemies and imperialist aggressors always to take any measures and to possess any weapons they consider appropriate".

We have not renounced this right.

Accept, sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Carlos M. LICHUGA  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of Cuba  
to the United Nations

New York, 7 January 1963

Annex I

LETTER DATED 28 OCTOBER 1962 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF CUBA  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

On the instructions of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, I have the  
honour to convey to you the following message:

"U Thant,  
"Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations

"With reference to the statement made by Mr. John F. Kennedy,  
President of the United States, in a letter addressed to  
Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR,  
to the effect that the United States would agree, after suitable arrangements  
had been made through the United Nations, to remove the blockade now in  
effect and to give guarantees against an invasion of Cuba, and with  
reference to the decision, announced by Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, to  
withdraw strategic defence weapons facilities from Cuban territory, the  
Revolutionary Government of Cuba wishes to make the following statement:

"The guarantees mentioned by President Kennedy that there will be no  
aggression against Cuba will be ineffective unless, in addition to the  
removal of the naval blockade which he promises, the following measures,  
inter alia, are adopted:

"1. Cessation of the economic blockade and of all the measures  
of commercial and economic pressure being carried out by the United  
States against our country throughout the world.

"2. Cessation of all subversive activities, of the dropping  
and landing of weapons and explosives by air and sea, of the  
organization of invasions by mercenaries, and of the infiltration of  
spies and saboteurs - all of which activities are being carried on  
from the territory of the United States and certain accomplices  
countries.

"3. Cessation of the piratical attacks being carried out from  
bases in the United States and Puerto Rico.

"4. Cessation of all violations of our air space and  
territorial waters by United States aircraft and warships.

"5. Withdrawal of the naval base of Guantánamo and return of the Cuban territory occupied by the United States.

"Accept, Sir, the assurance of my highest consideration.

"Major Fidel Castro Ruz  
"Prime Minister of the Revolutionary  
Government of Cuba."

I request you to have the text of this note circulated as an official document of the General Assembly.

Accept, Sir, etc.

(Signed) Mario García Inchaústegui  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of Cuba to the  
United Nations

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